CONSIDERATIONS

ON THE

AMERICAN WAR.

ADDRESSED TO THE

PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

Omnes homines, patres conſcripti, qui de rebus dubiis conſultant ab odio, amiciticia irâ, atque miſericordiâ vacuos eſſe decet. Haud facile animus verum providet, ubi illa officiunt, neque quiſquam omnium lubidini ſimul et uſui paruit. SALLUST.

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WHETHER we view the preſent war with America, as a Mother Country contending for the ſovereignty of her Colonies, or conſider it in reſpect to the conſequences attending on it, it will appear an object ſo intereſting to the people of this kingdom, as to excit the ſerious attention of every individual. The welfare of Great Britain, although far from depending on them, is ſo deeply intereſted in the event, that the ſecurity of thoſe advantages, which we are ſup-

poſed to receive from them, depends upon its deciſion.

It is not the intention of the following Conſiderations, to trace by what means the diſputes have ariſen to a height, that they can be terminated only by the ſword: but to take the ſubject in the preſent point of view; to look forward to its conſeqences, and conſider the importance of it to the kingdom; that by anticipating its effects, we may exert the precaution of a wiſe and prudent nation. —As it is impoſſible for even the moſt diſcerning, to delineate the minds and diſpoſitions of men, without a minute attention to thoſe *traits* that lead to a diſcovery of the heart, ſo it is equally impoſſible for us, on the preſent ſubject, to judge with truth, without marking the line of couduct which has been invariably purſued by the Coloniſts, and tracing through every maze of deception, that object, to which all their actions have been uniformly directed.

Men,

Men, accuſtomed to philoſophical ſpeculations, will always inveſtigate deeper the actions of ſociety, than they, whoſe time and attention are employed in adopting expedients to the exigency of affairs. Indeed, philoſophical and political reaſoning ſo ſeldom coincide, that by paying too great attention to the firſt, we ſhall frequently overturn the latter: yet, there are ſome caſes, where the one may not only be a guide to political inveſtigation, but throw ſuch clear and convincing proofs on the ſubject, as to force conviction, and clear thoſe doubts which are not always in the power of the other to remove; for if we trace the cauſe of the diſcontents in America on a political ſcale, we may attribute them to ſome erroneous conduct; but if we mark them with a philoſophic eye, we ſhall perceive them to proceed from innate principles, which will ever ſtruggle with the power that oppoſes them. It is an obſervation, which experience often

verifies, that the vices, or virtues of a race, will break out in the diſpoſition of ſucceeding generations; and ſometimes with increaſing vigour, from the torpitude they may have endured. This remark, though not univerſally juſt, may appoſitely be applied to the Coloniſts.—The firſt Britiſh reſidents in America, were either men who had committed ſuch offences againſt the laws of this country, that they were obliged to ſeek refuge there, to eſcape the puniſhment due to their crimes; or were driven thither by neceſſity; and others who flew there on account of their prejudices to the eſtabliſhed church of the kingdom. Now, when we conſider their anceſtors as men, whoſe flagitious crimes had rendered them objects of public puniſhment, or whoſe turbulent and refactory diſpoſitions made them enemies to every eſtabliſhed government, we ſhall not be ſurpriſed, that the ſame ſpirit of diſobedience and factious temper ſhould glow ſo ſtrong in their

their deſcendants. *Naturam expellas furca licet, uſque recurret.* The tenets of their religion, teach them to regard Republics as the only eſtabliſhment in a ſtate, from whence happineſs can flow to the people; and their actions are uniformly directed to that end: While a deluſive ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, as dangerous to ſociety, as ſubverſive of every virtue and principle of humanity, actuates all their proceedings.

Let us not be thought unjuſt to ſtamp a general character on a people, a national one, marks the proper of every kingdom. Nor will it appear aſtoniſhing, that one ſo oppoſite to the noble and generous character of Britons, ſhould glow ſo ſtrong in men originally of this kingdom, when we reflect, they were, whom the law would not ſuffer to remain in their native land; whoſe turbulent and reſtleſs tempers, could not brook a government, where every political liberty, conſiſtent with the general welfare of ſociety, is admitted in the fulleſt extent.

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It is no more than a natural inference, to ſuppoſe that men of this ſtamp and character, would be always endeavouring to realize thoſe ideas of independence, which they have been taught to nouriſh with a religious care. The principles firſt imprinted on the mind will, in general, be found to govern the actions of mankind: and as the ſtream will always partake of the quality of the ſpring from whence it flows, ſo their actions will be tainted according to the colour of thoſe principles.

As early as the reign of Charles and William, they aimed at a power that was dangerous for the kingdom to admit of; that the Navigation, and ſeveral other reſtraining acts, were even at that time found neceſſary to ſecure their dependence. At thoſe times, they were neither powerful, or their territoties in a ſtate of ſufficient ſecurity, to erect themſelves into a ſeparate empire; but the principles which are inherent in them, that ſtruggle

to

to be above all laws (except thoſe of their own ſectaries) began to diſcloſe themſelves, and it was eaſy to perceive the drift of thoſe infant efforts. From that time, their views to independency have progreſſively advanced with their proſperity; and the ſecurity they were placed in, by the ceſſion of Canada, has made them bold to break their connexion with the power that has nurtured them with its own bowels.

We muſt here obſerve, that it may appear aſtoniſhing, that Colonies planted ſo lately, ſhould make ſuch rapid progreſs to maturity, as to create fears of their becoming independent. But it muſt be conſidered, that Great Britain has, ever ſince their eſtabliſhment, regarded them with peculiar care and attention; has ſpared no expence to promote their welfare; has poured forth her treaſures, with an unbounded liberality for their ſupport; engaged in wars for their ſecurity and defence; and after her fleets and armies

armies had carried themſelves victorious againſt the utmoſt force of France and Spain, thought herſelf rewarded for her waſte of blood and treaſure, by planting the palm tree in America. Can a man, who has the welfare of his country at heart, reflect on the exertions of it, to ſecure the happineſs of her Colonies, and their ingratitude, without glowing with a ſpirit of revenge, ſuperior to what he feels at the inſults of a foreign enemy? But what muſt be our indignation! when we ſee them vindicated and encouraged in their treaſonable views, by men, who boaſt themſelves friends to this kingdom? Would to God, for their own peace of mind, that in the moments of ſerious reflection, they could exculpate themſelves from being traitors to it! For were we to trace the diſputes with America, we ſhould perceive the ſeeds of diſſention to have been ſown by them; the torches of rebellion light by their contagious faction; and they ſtill purſue their dark inſidious deſigns againſt this kingdom, with

with a rancour, ſpringing from the ſting of diſappointed ambition, that marks only that black and horrid character: And even now, that rebellion is declared in form, and every proceeding plainly ſpeaks the intentions of the Colonies to ſeparate themſelves from Great Britain, the ſubterfuge of modern patriotiſm, endeavours to juſtify it, by fallaciouſly declaring, that whatever acts the Coloniſts have been guilty of, the conduct of the Mother Country has drove them to it. This is an aſſertion, where not only the wiſdom of the legiſlature of theſe kingdoms is reprobated, but the public juſtice of it, which governs with ſo equal an hand, is arraign'd. With what truth, we ſhall enquire, and prove that ſo far from its proceedings being either oppreſſive or illegal, that it would have been wanting in a due regard to the intereſt of this country, had not thoſe meaſures been taken, that have been adopted. —We have already obſerved the general temper and diſpoſitions of the inhabitants; their religious and political prejudices;

which will always be found to operate on the actions of ſociety, according to the violence or moderation of their principles. But to form a perfect idea of the ſubject, we muſt take a general view of the Colonies; by which only we ſhall be able to diſcover, that *point of relation they muſt ſtand in to prove advantageous to Great Britain*, and from thence conſider, how far the proceedings of government were directed to that end.

It has been a point much diſputed by ſome of our political writers, whether the planting of Northern Colonies, would not in the end prove fatal to this kingdom? And though they differ in ſome particular points, they unite in the opinion, that it can only be by a vigorous exertion of laws, and by ſuch reſtraining acts, that prevent them from engaging in manufactures that are the produce of this conntry, that they could continue a laſting benefit to it. On the contrary, that if the Navigation Act, and the Prohibitory Laws of this nation were not ſtrictly

enforced

enforced, they might prove more beneficial to foreign kingdoms than this; and in time become our rivals in Trade, Navigation, and Empire.—Whether this danger proceeds from the natural conſequences of their being northern plantations, or from the wrong ſyſtem of government adopted in them, we muſt conſider? It will lead us to perceive that object, which nations planting colonies ſhould never looſe ſight of, the point of relation they muſt ſtand in, to prove advantageous to them; which, if permitted to deviate, or relax from, become more dangerous to the ſtate, than the natural foreign enemies of it.

That Colonies can no longer be ſerviceable to a ſtate, than they continue in ſubordination to it, is a fact too plain to be inſiſted on. Though equal danger does not ariſe from the innovation of the laws in every Colony, as thoſe whoſe products are nearly the ſame with the parent ſtate. Where there is a ſimilarity in the ſoil, climate, and ſituation, it requires

the legiſlature to adopt ſuch reſtrictive laws, as may ſecure the Mother Country from being rivalled in her commerce, by thoſe new branches of her empire; which, when they are judiciouſly formed, and vigorouſly enforced, will cement their union; as the mutual wants of men unite them into the firm bands of ſociety and government. The chief view of raiſing plantations, is to extend the commerce of a kingdom; therefore the attention of it, muſt not only be directed to promote, but to ſecure the advantages that flow from them. This only can be done, by encouraging them to turn their attention to thoſe commodities that we may otherwiſe be obliged to purchaſe at foreign markets; and by ſuch reſtraining acts, that prevent them from ſupplying themſelves with articles, that are ſtaples of this kingdom. That this is the only line in which they can prove beneficial, muſt be allowed.—It is no longer than they ſtand in mutual relation to ſupply each others wants, than their connexion can continue permanent and ſecure. Our

anceſtors,

anceſtors, in this commercial point of legiſlation, may, on a ſuperficial view, appear to have ſecured Great Britain from that danger by the Navigation, and ſome other reſtraining acts.—But theſe, like fabrics which are not raiſed on foundations proportionable to their bulk, muſt fall; for the want of thoſe pillars of ſupport to ſociety, *a government adequate to the body it is meant to comprehend.*

It has been urged, that while Great Britain is watchful to admit no innovations on thoſe acts, that there can be no ground for apprehenſions of the Colonies arriving to the degree of conſequence, ſo as to be dangerous to her commerce.

Thoſe who maintain this poſition, have either very narrowly conſidered the ſubject, or deſignedly conceal thoſe reaſons that are concluſive, and muſt be convincing to every man, of the abſolute neceſſity of altering the conſtitution of the Colonies; to preſerve thoſe advantages, which, by the laws

laws of juſtice and nations, are our right; and when ſettled on a firm and laſting baſis, may prove the influx of wealth and happineſs, equally to that part of our empire on the other ſide of the Atlantic, as to Great Britain.

The Navigation, and other reſtraining acts, though laws of the moſt conſummate wiſdom and policy, and abſolutely neceſſary to preſerve the proper connexion between Great Britain and her Colonies, have not ſolely the power to effect it.—For, as the proceedings of a kingdom will be vigorous and effective, according to its internal ſtrength, ſo thoſe acts, operating only as commercial laws, cannot produce that counterpoiſe which is neceſſary to preſerve a balance in the civil government of the country, which alone can render our authority ſecure and certain. Without a civil government no kingdom can poſſibly exiſt with ſtability; ſo, without that, government being adequate to the body it is meant to com-

comprehend, it neither can procure obedience or reſpect to it, or promote the ends for which it was inſtituted.—Hence we are led to conſider the government of the Colonies. But to prepare us to judge with exactneſs, to diſcern their tendency, and mark their defects, we muſt take a view of the principles of colonical government; that we may eſtabliſh our poſitions on a baſis not to be ſhook by the ſophiſtry or attacks of thoſe, who propagate maxims, that not only juſtify the rebellion of the Americans, but tend to annihilate every political inſtitution in the world.

From this ſelf-evident poſition, *that Colonies can no longer be ſerviceable to a ſtate, than they continue in ſubordination to it,* we muſt deduce our arguments. The natural inference from which is, that kingdoms having them, muſt ordain ſuch laws that will preſerve the connexion. We have before obſerved the neceſſity of the parent kingdom to enact reſtraining

laws

laws, to preſerve them becoming rivals to her. The object that points itſelf next to conſideration, is the power to enforce them; which, though ultimately reſts in the Mother Country, is delegated to an authority on the ſpot; by which we are to underſtand the civil or internal government of them. This being the firſt mover, the wheel that gives motion to every act, ſo according to its force and regularity, the order of the whole will be preſerved. At preſent, it would be entering on too copious a field to conſider what inſtitutions are moſt likely to effect and ſecure a proper connexion between colonies and kingdoms? but we muſt obſerve, that if the balance is not in favour of the executive power, the democratic part of their government will always endeavour to thwart the intentions of the other. Their intereſt, they will imagine to be diſtinct from that of the parent country, and will ſeek to throw off the ſubjection and duty they owe to her. In their infant ſtate, theſe ſtruggles may not

riſe

riſe to public commotions; but they will increaſe, as they advance to opulence, popularity and power. The civil eſtabliſhment, which, at firſt, might be ſufficient to rule them, in their maturer ſtate, may be unable to ſupport itſelf againſt the over-bearing power of the leaders of the people. This is the natural progreſſion of men in ſociety; and when the ruling power does not extend with the increaſing one of the people, it will be over-borne by the anarchy, which is the conſequence of a government not being adequate to the body it is meant to comprehend. In Colonies, there will be ideas of a ſeparate intereſt to that of their connected kingdom; and it will no longer be able to preſerve their ſubordinate connexion, than while, in the civil government of them, the balance is on her ſide.

If we apply theſe obſervations to America, we ſhall have a relenting proof of their truth. We ſhall find the power, that ought to enforce the laws of Great

Britain, not a ſufficient barrier againſt the attacks of the democratic part of their government; by which it has ariſen to that height of anarchy, as not only to attempt to overthrow the civil power, but dare to oppoſe the authority that erected it; to deny the ſubordinate connexion of Colonies, and form themſelves into a ſeparate and diſtinct empire. In their preſent diſtracted ſtate, it may be thought of little moment to point out the defects in their government; but we are warranted to ſpeak from experience and from the conviction of truth, that, when the Colonies are ſubdued, it can only be an alteration in their internal government, that Great Britain will ever be able to ſupport her authority in them. 'Till the civil power is raiſed to a degree of conſequence and reſpectability, and the balance thrown into the ſcale of this kingdom, they will ever be ſtruggling to break off their connexion, and, in time, athwart every means we can take to prevent it.

It is from their endeavours to effect a ſeparation (though at preſent it would be their ruin without an alliance with Great Britain) and to erect themſelves into an independent empire, that is the occaſion of the preſent war. But to ſoften the guilt of their rebellion, they caſt an odium of intended oppreſſion of them by this kingdom; and have ſet up claims equally unknown to the laws of this nation, as to any Colonies in the world. We ſhall not enter into the legality of them, they have been fully obviated by ſeveral of our political writers. Indeed, they have been ſo often argued on both ſides, that the principle end of their claims, has been loſt in ſubtle diſtinctions of their ideal right. The authority of this kingdom has been diſcuſſed and explained by their abettors, 'till it has been, as it were, explained away. The ſimple queſtion is, whether Great Britain has any right to govern her Colonies? If ſhe has no right, they are no longer Colonies to her, they are a ſeparate and diſtinct empire, will take on the authority of one.

and as at preſent, oppoſe the power that pretends to a juſt and legal claim.

We now come to the particular Intentions of this publication; to take the ſubject in the preſent point of view, and conſider its conſequences and importance. The preceding obſervations are the reſult of an enquiry into the cauſe of the preſent diſputes, and the further we carry it, the plainer we ſhall perceive them to ſpring from innate Principles; and that they have aroſe to the preſent height, is owing to the want of weight and power in the civil or internal government.

The cauſe aſſigned by the Coloniſts for taking arms againſt Great Britain is, that ſhe has endeavoured to exerciſe an authority to which ſhe has no right, with a view to involve them in ſlavery; and declare, they will not lay them down, without they are permitted to remain in the ſituation they were in at the cloſe of the laſt war. Theſe are the reaſons they publiſh

liſh in their juſtification ; and the terms they preſcribe to their mother country for an accommodation. The one is of that kind of ſpecious pretence which is uſed to cover a bad cauſe, and mark a concealed intention, as the other is preſumptive and dangerous to this kingdom to admit. The conſequences that would reſult from placing them in the ſituation they were in at the cloſe of the laſt war muſt in the end prove fatal ; it may ſtill the voice of faction and rebellion for the preſent, but it will lead by ſlow and certain ſteps to the end they ſeek—an independent empire : and perhaps at a time when they may have ſtrength to maintain it ; and every effort we can oppoſe prove fruitleſs.

At that period they were ſecured from any future attacks of the enemy ; their ſafety was the grand object of the peace, as their protection had been the ſole cauſe of the war, they were ſettled in a land which the bounty and liberality of this kingdom had enabled them to turn from a de-

a deſert to a prolific garden, and were ſecured in the midſt of plenty, with all the bleſſings that flow from the enjoyment of peace. During the war our exertions were beyond credibility. The glorious actions atchieved in the preſent reign has indeed rendered our fame immortal; but the real advantages, the profit of all our conqueſts, centered in America. Great Britain, like the parent who extends her arm beyond her ſtrength to defend her children, and ſtrains herſelf in their protection, ſo ſhe through guarding them, incurred the weight of an enormous debt that ſhe will for ages feel the effects of.

In this ſituation, were it not expedient and juſt, that the part of the empire, which was ſolely benefited by the ſucceſſes of the war, ſhould proportionably bear the burden it had incurr'd? It is true, during the war they aſſiſted; but let it not be forgot, they were in the ſeat of it; and fought by that impulſe that makes a man take arms againſt robbers that attack

tack his houſe. And yet the generoſity of this nation was ſo great, that it re-imburſed them the expences they were at, for aſſiſting the troops that fought for *their defence.* Such was the paternal care of this kingdom! that, thinking they might have exerted themſelves beyond their ability, even as a time when its finances were ſunk, in conſequence of protecting them, added to the numerous donations (with ſhame be it ſpoken) to theſe revolted Colonies! But it is not the idea of a reimburſement of our expences, that is the urgent cauſe; *it is the preſervation of that political balance, which, without being kept on a juſt equilibrium, will, as it riſes in favour of the Colonies, ſink the power and authority of this kingdom.* Could miniſters of diſcernment and honeſty, ſee the increaſing power and opulence of the Colonies, without marking them with a jealous eye? when their proſperity muſt ultimately lead to the ruin of Great Britain: by our defraying the expences of their government ſupport and defence,

while

while they were increaſing to a degree of ſtrength ſuperior to their Mother Country. This is no aggrandization of their conſequence; and makes the preſent conteſt, ſo intereſting to the people of this kingdom, that we may affirm with truth, the man, who does not unite to the utmoſt of his ability to ſubdue them, has neither the heart of a Briton, or feels for the welfare of his country. To point out the particulars that makes them ſo dangerous to Great Britain, when the line of their proper connexion is broke, would exceed the limits of this publication; we ſhall therefore only take them in a general view.

The almoſt unbounded extend of lands in America, is a great natural advantage they poſſeſs over Great Britain; and the vaſt length of their coaſts adds to it; not only from the fertility it gives to its borders, but by the quantity of fiſh that abound on them. The conſequence of ſuch an extent of dominion is, that large

tracts

tracts of land will be rented at inconſiderable rates, till a general cultivation has taken place, and population increaſed accordingly. Proviſions muſt for ages continue cheap and plenty, and though labour at firſt may be high, as population increaſes it will gradually fall. The reſult of this to the colonies, having *no national taxes to pay for their protection and government*, muſt be riches and power; while a ſtriking and ſad reverſe will be the fate of the Mother Country, that leads them on to this height of greatneſs. Exauſting herſelf to ſupport them, ſhe will feel a gradual decay in ſtrength and riches, her commerce ſenſibly decline, and her population waſte under the weight of taxes which their ſupport muſt neceſſarily cauſe, 'till in time ſhe will ſink under the burden of her new empire. America advancing in this line, already feels herſelf rich and powerful; and without the fruit of thoſe ſeeds that we have ſown is preſerved in the channel that flows to Great Britain, and which reverts again to the Colonies, ſhe

will experience the feeling contraſt we have deſcribed. It appears true, that while America finds that cultivating her lands is more advantageous to her than erecting manufacturies, ſhe will continue to do ſo, and as ſhe increaſes in riches and population, her demands for them will proportionably riſe, and her imports from Great Britain conſequently be greater. This reaſoning has induced many perſons to think, that the duties ariſing from the great exports of this kingdom to thence, will anſwer every end of a regular internal taxation; and is preferable, becauſe it does not come within the line of the original point of diſpute; and will prove more advantageous on account of the employ to our manufacturers, and therefore, that all the proceedings in regard to the Colonies ſince the peace have been wrong, and deſtructive to the end they were held out to have in view. We cannot ſhew the fallaciouſneſs of this reaſoning in a ſtronger light than by expoſing the fatal conſequences that would enſue from it.

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It is true that our exports would undoubtedly increaſe to America as they increaſed in population; and that conſequently as they advanced in Riches their remittances might be more regular. But it is equally true, that the expences of their government would keep pace with their flouriſhing ſituation; and as they progreſſively advanced to power, their weight would preſs heavier on Great Britain. It may be offered in anſwer to this, that the increaſing duties from their imports would balance the increaſing expences of their government. This reaſoning is plauſible, but fallacious. In the firſt place, it is ſuppoſing, contrary to all the laws of experience, that a body of men in ſociety would not give vent to the univerſal efforts of genius, which ſpring up in all ages and countries, and therefore be reſtrained of themſelves from fixing their attention to thoſe articles, by which only their connection can prove valuable to Great Britain. And again, the great impoſts which muſt neceſſarily be laid on the

goods exported to the colonies, will ſo increaſe the firſt coſt of them, that they naturally will raiſe manufactories within themſelves to ſupply their common want. The luxuries which they cannot raiſe, they will purchaſe from foreign merchants, who can ſupply them ſo much cheaper. The anſwer to this poſition is, that while we continue to enforce even the navigation act, our trade is effectually ſecured to the colonies. We have before obſerved, that a government without being adequate to the body it is meant to comprehend, can neither enforce the laws, or ſupport the authority of a civil power. That the government in the colonies are ſtrictly ſuch we fatally experience. Therefore, though by permitting them to remain in the ſituation they were in before the year 1763, trade may return to its uſual channel, and poſſibly with greater vigor than it ever yet flow'd, it will be but for a time, our dominion will rapidly looſe ground, till the Britiſh Sceptre will be trod under the feet of anarchy; and

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the equitable code of Britiſh laws reverſed by the wild and lawleſs tyranny of republican edicts. The conſequences that indubitably will follow, are ſuch, as muſt alarm the moſt torpid Briton; that period, which Heaven avert that it ever ſhould arrive! muſt in the end prove the overthrow of this kingdom. The loſs of our commerce to that part of the world, is not the only one that will enſue; when America is ſeparated from Great Britain, our Weſt-India Iſlands ſhake, and lean on their arm for ſupport. The African trade falls into the ſame channel, while Great Britain lives only to lament her miſtaken lenity, and mourn the treachery of deſigning men.

This may be thought an exaggeration of conſequences, and ſeeing things at a very remote period; but on a ſeries of enquiry it will be found no more than the natural conſequence of their being permitted to remain in the ſame ſituation they were in before the year 1763. Neither is the period ſo remote. The rapid progreſs

greſs to their preſent flouriſhing condition, compared to this, will be as the ſlow movement of the hand that points the hour in a watch, to the quick motion of the one, that points the ſeconds. Of this we ſhall fully be convinced by reflecting on thoſe great advantages they poſſeſs over Great Britain, which indiſputably will accelerate it. Within themſelves they poſſeſs thoſe indiſpenſible commodities, ſuch as all kinds of proviſions in the moſt luxuriant plenty; inexhauſtible naval ſtores of moſt kinds, that give them the preeminence in thoſe articles to any kingdom in the world. Their deficiency in manufacturers, though an important branch of commerce, weighs but little in the ſcale of intrinſic national wealth, and thoſe fruits, which nature has laviſh'd on the land will ſetch any neceſſary or luxury from all parts of the world. This, I hope, when duly conſidered and reflected on, will convince us of the danger of permitting them to remain in the ſituation they were in before the year 1763, and depend-

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ing on their great importations from Great Britain to balance the expences of their protection and government. Intereſt, not Inclination or affection, is the ſole point of attraction that draw the Colonies to trade with us; and we may be aſſured that Great Britain will no longer be their ſettled place of traffick than they can do without her aſſiſtance, no more than a man would go to give two-pence for the ſame thing that he could buy elſe where for a penny.

The ſame Reflections I hope will lead to perceive the errors of a political ſyſtem advanced by a reverend and ſtrenuous friend to this country; ſeveral of his poſitions are ingenious, and his arguments judicious, but inconcluſive, and his errors flow from too extenſive and liberal views, which is far from being uncommon in ſpeculative men who have attentively marked the riſe and progreſs of nations, and will always compare the preſent ſtate of things to paſt hiſtorical events, and think becauſe there muſt be a finite to them, that it may

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not be accelerated or impeded. Though every man muſt allow, that all political bodies contain the ſeeds of their diſſolution, yet, as that machine will endure the longeſt where there is the leaſt friction, ſo that government which is formed on juſt and equitable principles, and conducted by able and judicious men, may ſtand the wreck of ages. The following conſiderations will place the plan of diſunion in the manner propoſed by the Rev. author in a true light. As the general bond of union between nations is intereſt, and as their intereſt frequently varies, it ſeldom ſurvives the object; or is rarely ſo inviolable held, as not to be drawn aſide by the view of greater gain or ſecurity. Therefore were a ſeparation between Great Britain and her Colonies to take place, and a league of friendſhip entered into between them, we have little reaſon to think it will laſt longer than it is not the intereſt of them to break it: That were this to happen, Great Britain would looſe all the advantages of a ſole trade to America; for

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it never can be expected they would voluntary ſubmit to reſtrictions, when they refuſe to comply with the requeſts of juſtice; neither can it be ſuppoſed they would give Britiſh merchants Fifteen Pounds for what they could purchaſe of others for Twelve. As an ally, they might bring us into ſuch expences that we might find them as oppreſſive friends as ruinous children. I ſhould have ſooner expected from ſo eminent a politician a recommendation of ſuch an union between Great Britain and Holland, who ſeem formed by nature, circumſtances, and dependance, to be joined in an inſeparable league, than one, with a power on the other ſide of the Atlantic, whoſe intereſt taken in one point of view is oppoſite, and that no advantages equal to the riſque can poſſibly ariſe; for this is a certain truth, that it can be only in a ſubordinate relation that the Colonies can prove advantageous to this kingdom.

Thus having in a curſorily manner viewed the certain conſequences that muſt at-

tend from placing them in the ſame ſituation they were in before the year 1763, as alſo from a ſeparation, and ſeeing that little leſs than ruin to this country muſt flow from either. and pointing out the true relation they muſt ſtand in to prove of advantage to us, we muſt reject every idea that tends to weaken our connexion, and exert our abilities to every end that leads to cement it. Is there a man and a Briton then, who does not feel himſelf intereſted to overcome theſe lawleſs people, when no leſs than the exiſtence of his country depends upon their being ſubdued? God forbid there ſhould be one man who, after maturely weighing theſe truths, can be ſo inſenſible to the welfare of his country, as not to unite to ſupport the authority of his kingdom, not only to preſerve the dignity of its national character, but to defend it againſt the moſt horrid rebellion that ever diſgraced a civilized people. In all ages, there are ſome men who will endeavour to delude the unreflecting by holding up a falſe mirror to the world.

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But if we ſcrutinize the principles of theſe men, we ſhall find them to ſpring from the baſeſt and moſt ignominious principles that can diſgrace the character of man. From a principle of revenge, and the rancour of diſappointed ambition, they form a faction to thwart every end of government. They take on the ſhow of public virtue, and endeavour to delude us under the cloak of patriotiſm, to which they are equal ſtrangers, as to real virtue or honour. With the ſyren ſong of Liberty, they ſeduce their followers to the worſt of ſlavery ;— the baniſhment of reflection, and the tyranny of the paſſions. —That ſuch men as theſe ſhould be ſteeled againſt the intereſt of their country, as to countenance and ſupport a rebellion, their faction has been the inſtigation of, is but conſiſtent with the abandoned profligacy of its leaders, who have long trod in oppoſition to common reaſon, and inſulting the people, by betraying their intereſts, under the colour of protecting their liberties. What ſhall we

ſay of thoſe men, who, through a malicious ſpirit of revenge, would ſacrifice the honour and dignity of the kingdom, give up the ſacred rights of Parliament, and with them, the brigheſt jewel in the Britiſh crown?

We have obſerved the ſtruggling efforts of the Coloniſts, to erect themſelves into an independent empire, and pointed out the conſequences that would reſult to this nation, were the event to take place; and with an agony of mind, which every friend to Great Britain will experience at the reflection, have found, that, as America riſes to independence, England will as gradually decay. Ought it not then to make every man ſtrenuous to ſupport that connexion between them, which, when properly cemented, will make the Britiſh empire equally rich and powerful as extenſive? We have ſhewn the line of connexion in which only it can be effected; that their union may be durable,

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and not to be ſhook by the rage or power of faction.

It may be oppoſed to what has been advanced of their deſigns of erecting themſelves into an independent empire, that they are only conteſting for certain privileges; and the impoſſibility of their ſubſiſting without Great Britain, cited as a proof.

We have remark'd, that thoſe very privileges which they pretend to conteſt for, would lead to certain independency. And the more we conſider their progreſſive conſequences, the more we ſhall be convinced. It is not only an exemption from being taxed without Repreſentatives, but they have, in the moſt explicit terms, declared, that Great Britain has no right to make acts to bind them. What is this but a diſavowal of our authority? Is not this a demonſtration of their views? Did they think themſelves aggrieved by any particular acts, the road of redreſs was

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open to them; but they remonſtrated with uſurped claims in one hand, and the ſword in the other. To diſcerning men, their ſpecious pretences, will appear only a covering to dark and treaſonable intentions.

The impoſſibility of maintaining themſelves as an independent empire, will not argue the non-intentions of it. The ſtrong diſpoſition they have ſhewn towards it, could not but alarm the people of this kingdom. The moſt deliberate acts of oppoſition to the laws of Great Britain, a contempt to her authority, and public inſult to the Governors and Magiſtrates, were not to be regarded as outrages of a wild multitude; but as the ſettled plan of ambitious men, who, by ſeducing arts, have deluded an unhappy people, to be the engines of their diabolical machinations; whoſe lawleſs ambition will lead to depopulate cities, which, under our auſpices, flouriſhed in peace and ſecurity; will turn the ſmile of

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domeſtic content, which the foſtering care of Great Britain had ſeated familiar on their brow, to the diſtreſsful mournings of the widow and the fatherleſs; and will involve the dominions they ſeek to govern, in ruin: through their hopes to gain the ſceptre of America.

To prevent this unjuſt uſurpation, which under the cauſe of reſiſting ſlavery, erects the banners of tyrany, and to reſtore peace and harmony to thoſe ſubjects, who have been intimidated to join the ſtandard of rebellion againſt their Sovereign and their Country; Great Britain has relentingly drawn the ſword. Hitherto, her armies have marched as the Spartan heralds, with the enſignia of Concord on their ſpear, and even ſoliciting them to conſider the conſequence of their infatuation. In ſhort, through hopes of bringing them to a ſenſe of their error, they have forborne the vengeance due to the worſt of rebels: but the poiſon of rebellion has ſpread through

through every vein, and rages with fury equal to its enormity.

Can a man, after a due conſideration of the importance of America to this kingdom, and the conſequence that muſt follow from her independence, heſitate a moment to declare the juſtice and expediency of the coercive meaſures taken to ſubdue them? However our feelings may be diſtreſſed at the general calamity of war, when we conſider the cauſe to be no leſs than the preſervation of the Britiſh Empire, a perfect unanimity muſt take place to proſecute with unremitting zeal a war, of which the ultimate end is peace, and the reſtoration of government to a deluded people.

Though we cannot offer a doubt that a reflecting man is not convinced of the urgency of vigorous meaſures, and of the impoſſibility of effecting a reconciliation by treaty; yet, to clear every imputation

of

of injuſtice, and to place our proceedings with America in a true light, we will conſider thoſe objections, which have been made againſt them; by men, who having the privilege of debate, have been bold to ſtand up the champions of rebellion, to guide the dagger that is meant to wound the ſoul of their country, and exult in the general diſtreſs it may occaſion. Every idea, that ſtrike them as likely to heighten the inſurrection, they perpetrate without regard to honour, conſiſtency, or truth. Every low device they make uſe of to give ſpirit to thoſe infatuated men, and to ſink the courage of this kingdom.—That of repreſenting this country as unequal to the conteſt, and holding up imaginary dangers to intimidate the people, is one of thoſe mean reſources, that ſhew the rancorous ſpirit by which they are actuated.

We are to thank God that the *preſent* is not the period that we have pointed out, as to be dreaded by us. The preſent power of the Colonies is not at ſuch a height, as to make the Britiſh empire

tremble. Though by ſuccouring of them, the quarter of a century longer, without ſecuring their connexion, as we have ſhewn, they may be able to maintain the independency they have in view. We ought to look upon the preſent ferment, as rather a fortunate event to Great Britain, by rouſing her from that lethargy, which has permitted the Coloniſts to take ſuch ſtrides of power, without conſidering the end they would lead to. She has not ſlept too long, but awakened in the critical moment, that by exerting herſelf with vigour, ſhe may regain the advantage taken by her ſlumbers, and we hope will fix the government of the Colonies on a baſis not to be ſhook by their ambitious efforts to erect themſelves into an independent empire; and ſecure againſt the blaſt of factions, from this ſide the Atlantic.

We ſhall proceed to conſider the objections that have been advanced againſt coercive meaſures; and the impediments that have

have been ſtarted towards the proſecution of them. The arguments we have made uſe of to ſhew the neceſſity of preſerving our ſovereignty in the Colonies, will obviate every objection that can be made to the ſubduing them by force. The urgency of their ſubordinate relation, muſt ſtrongly appear to every man who beſtows the leaſt reflection on the ſubject; and we have a relenting proof that it can only be effected by force of arms. Great Britain, on her part, has tried every means to effect a reconciliation, even to the total relinquiſhing of taxing them; and her offers were rejected with indignity and contempt. The Colonies, flattered by our domeſtic factions, both in regard to their own ſtrength, and the imbecility of government*, while we were forming

Were I to mention the arts made uſe of to repreſent this kingdom in an equal ſtate of anarchy as America, it would appear incredulous; but to ſuch a ſhift are the leaders of the people there reduced as to invent the moſt daring falſehoods to ſupport the ſpirits of the rebels who groan under the tyrrany of their uſurpers. It was current in the army, about 8 weeks ſince, that our ——— was in the Tower, and the Miniſter beheaded. Such treaſonable falſhoods are ſpread to prevent the ſword they have forced the people to draw againſt their ſovereign, from being turned againſt themſelves. Are we more to pity the deluſion of the people or to turn with indignation againſt their leaders, and the firſt movers on this ſide the water?

plans of conciliation, were combining forces to maintain their uſurpation. The voice of reaſon was loſt in the clamours of ſedition, a ſenſe of their own danger, and their inevitable ruin and deſtruction, was forgot in their ambitious efforts to an independent empire.—The oppoſers of the meaſures of government have termed the proceedings of this kingdom, with reſpect to America, to have been founded on injuſtice, uſurping a power which the legiſlature conſtitutionally does not poſſeſs, of altering their charters. The force therefore uſed to ſupport them they argue to be tyrannical, and meant to eſtabliſh deſpotiſm, which, when ſeated in the Colonies, will ſpread its influence in Britain. On that poſition they vindicate their rebellion, and would delude the unthinking part of the people, that the Americans are fighting no leſs for Britiſh liberty than American rights. It is only the effrontery of modern patriotiſm that could publickly offer ſuch an inſult to the people of England as to make this aſſertion: We might with juſtice reverſe the poſition, and ſay,

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that America is fighting for independence to rivet fetters on Britain. If a view to eaſe the people of this kingdom, (who have borne the weight of their colonies with a chearfulneſs that does honour to their generous character) if to eſtabliſh an equitable form of government; to correct abuſes whoſe enormities have long been oppreſſive, to preſerve the Britiſh empire and its people from decay, whilſt her colonies were flouriſhing in opulence and luxury; if theſe are acts of deſpotiſm, and the part of traitors to their country, every Engliſhman muſt join the oppoſition to government; and declare the proceedings of thoſe miniſters who have endeavoured to effect it, have been dictated by a ſpirit of tyranny; but if the logic of our patriots cannot fully prove this, their aſſertions are as nefarious as themſelves. They have no doubt a ſpirit to attempt it, for our *patriots*, like the hero of Cervantes, who to ſhow his valour muſt fight even wind-mills for giants, ſo thoſe *poſſeſſors of public virtue*, to ſhow their independence, take the ſhield of patriotiſm, and brandiſh the

the ſword of oppoſition, in hopes to gain the laurels of a *ſinecure* ; or the rod of power : which they can as tyrannically wield, as they artfully ſeduce the people. In their actions the ſimile between them and the Quixote Knight is ſtrictly juſt ; in their principles they widely differ, the one proceeding from a diſtempered brain, the other from a ſettled rancour or revenge through diſappointed ambition. And if we may judge of their virtue by the proof they give of the rectitude of their heart, in juſtifying the American rebellion, we may ſafely pronounce they have not honeſty to poſſeſs the places they ſeek, and are of too ſuſpicious a colour to be intruſted even with the moſt limitted power. This is an unworthy digreſſion ;—but theſe *Patriots* preſerve ſo active a part in the rebellion, nay, have been the very inſtigation, and are the ſupport of it, that the people may do well to examine the cauſe they are actuated by ; the reſult will be, we ſhall learn to diſtruſt before we put confidence ; and ſuſpect the man who

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uſurps the name of *Patriot*, who has not virtue to ſupport the character of an honeſt man.

So far from the leaſt cenſure being due to the miniſters who have been forward to cement the union of the Colonies and Great Britain, that the united thanks of this country are due to them. If America had been left to make thoſe advances to ſovereignty, with which ſhe has preſſed forward ſince the peace, our dominion in them would be irretrievably loſt—all the power we could exert to regain it would be vain. Can we heſitate then to approve or condemn the meaſures that have been taken to preſerve the rights of Great Britain, when the conſequences reſulting from the diminution of them are ſo ſtrikingly important? Shall we revere the men who have been ſtrenuous to ſupport them, or applaud the partricides who would forfeit them? We ſurely cannot pauſe a moment.

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The conſequences of the war are painted as being ruinous and deſtructive to our trade, finances, and empire. Every Impediment has been advanced, to damp the ardour of this country; and the impoſſibility of ſubduing them, maintained with confidence. This plain queſtion to a man, whether it is not more prudent to ſuffer a temporary inconvenience, than to bear a future laſting evil, will controvert thoſe objections which are urged againſt proſecuting the war, on account of the ſtop of the American commerce. It is true, our trade to America is an object of importance, but can it be ſecured any longer than we hold the dominion of them? And ſhall the fears of temporary ſtagnation make us looſe thoſe advantages which we have dearly purchaſed, as it were, by funds of wealth, and rivers of blood? I hope the high ſpirit of Engliſhmen is not ſunk ſo low, as to be intimidated by the loſs of a preſent pecuniary gain, which their decendants muſt pay for, poſſibly with ſlavery.—But the inconveniencies to us of proſecuting the war, are not of the

magnitude

magnitude they have been painted. Since the peace with the Northern powers, we have new channels of trade open; which promiſe to continue with a ballance on our ſide. Thoſe articles which we received from America, we have from them, and the prices nearly as low: For the bounties we paid to the Coloniſts added half to the firſt coſt. The diſtreſs which it will occaſion to our Weſt India iſlands has been exaggerated in the ſame manner. The lumber which they imported from the continent is an article that Florida can fully ſupply; beſides, the Weſt Indians have timber of a ſuperior quality on their own lands ſufficient to laſt them for ſome time to come; though the great price of labour has prevented them from cutting it, as they could get it ſo much cheaper from America. Therefore, the diſtreſs held out to ariſe to the Weſt Indies in that article to people acquainted with the Antilles, will appear an abſurd impoſition. It may turn the uſual channel of traffic, but not into a more unfavourable ſtream. The proviſions imported from America

by them being ſtopp'd is likewiſe held out to be another inſurmountable inconvenience to the Weſt Indies. Indeed it would be of ruinous conſequence, could they get proviſions no where but from America! but theſe are bug-bears to alarm the ignorant, and to awaken the fears of the credulous: Every kind of proviſion they import from America, can be imported from Great Britain and Ireland. Indico, which is a great article of commerce, can be produced in Jamaica, that ſoil is particularly favourable to it; and till lately, when government endeavoured to make it a ſtaple of Carolina, amazing quantities were produced to the great advantage of the planters. Upon the whole, the effects of the American war upon our trade, which have been held out to be of that importance as to ſpread ruin through all the manufacturing parts of the kingdom, is one of thoſe artifices which deſigning men have made uſe of to promote their intereſted views. On the contrary, the deſtruction they prognoſticate to fall on Great Britain, inevitably muſt

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enſue to America. The total number of ſouls in the Britiſh Colonies do not exceed 3000000, ſuppoſing that number to conſiſt equally of men, women, and children, they are but 1000000 of each. The greateſt number of men are farmers; manufacturers form the ſmaleſt body of the whole; out of this number is an army taken of 82,000, now ſuppoſing the Americans were able to ſupply themſelves with every neceſſary of life, is it poſſible, thoſe few hands remaining ſhould ſupply the whole Continent with articles equally neceſſary to exiſtence as proviſions? They muſt ſuffer the extremity of want, and pine with penury through their obſtinate deluſion. But this is a falſe ſtate of the caſe, for the Coloniſts do not ſupply themſelves with one tenth part of what they conſume; what diſtreſs then muſt they ſuffer when the poor manufacturer muſt be dragged from home to fight the cauſe of rebellion?

If we carry our enquiries farther, we ſhall be convinced of the impoſſibility of

their proſecuting a war. Their advocates, may talk loudly of their numerous army, but the hiſtory of no times can ſhew, that men, drag'd into the field by force; or allured by the promiſes of extenſive rewards, never confirm'd, and the general pay in dollars of paſteboard, (whoſe intrinſic worth of a whole mint of them, is not equal to a farthing) ever fought with courage or perſeverd with vigour. Add to theſe impoſitions of their leaders, the diſtreſs they muſt feel, for the want of thoſe neceſſaries of ſupport, which they are deprived of, by being cut off in their commerce with England; which are difficulties the people would ſink under, in time of profound peace; how much then muſt the general calamity be aggravated, in the alter'd ſituation of things, where their peaceful habitations are turned into hoſtile abode of rebels; and the ſerenity of an eaſy earned plenty, to the ſhivering cries of penury and want. Yet under theſe difficulties, and more than I have mentioned, there are men, who to damp the ardour of this

country,

country, affirm the impoſſibility of their being conquer'd; while they exult in the fancied triumphs of rebellion, over the Sovereign and people of Great Britain, and ſeem to glory in the chains that may conſequently be revilled on their country. Can we help crying out, *Audiat hæc genitor, qui fœdera fulmine faniet.*

To the honour of our national character, there is a reluctancy in the diſpoſition of the Engliſh to proceed to extremities, equally as they are invincible when rouſed to action. We have borne the public inſults of America with patience; * they have mock'd the lenity of our proceedings with defiance, inſtead of offering conceſſions; and have dared to ſtand againſt this great and powerful nation. The vindi-

* I need not mention the inſulting treatment which the Americans have long borne towards (I mean ſome years back) the Britiſh troops; permiting the moſt menial ſervants and children to reprobate them in the moſt opprobious terms, publickly in the ſtreets. The keen and nice ſenſe of honour, which diſtinguiſhes our army and navy, never can forget their injuries.

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cative hand of juſtice, is rear'd againſt them; and a reddition, equal to the enormity of the crime, only, can award the blow. But the hopes of pacification are fled; the olive branch which Great Britain has held out to them, is withered in its repeated offerings; and the only alternative is, ſhall we ſubmit to America, come into her haughty claims, and ſuffer her to give laws to us? or ſhall we ſupport the rights of our country, againſt the uſurpations of men, whoſe ambition terminates in tyranny, and the ſlavery of their deluded followers?

Some men, are apt to judge of the competency of the Americans, from the actions that have already happened; and unthinking ones have decided in their favor. Perhaps there never was an action, where the courage and vigour, of the Britiſh troops, ſhone more reſplendent; nor the activity of the *acting* commander and the officers in general. The troops had every difficulty to encounter, and they roſe ſuperior

perior to them all; againſt an enemy of thrice their number, ſecured by a work which three hundred men ought to have defended, againſt the force that made the attack; though they poſſeſſed an inexpreſſible advantage in point of ſituation, and were ſtrengthened by a vaſt ſuperiority of numbers, the Britiſh troops roſe ſuperior to every difficulty and danger. It is true, a concurrence of unfortunate events operated to prevent the conqueſt of the day from being either ſo great or advantageous as it might have proved, which, though they impeded and leſſened the luſtre of the victory, gives us the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the power of a united army and navy, acting with all their vigour under commanders as vigilant as their men.

The great probability of our natural enemies, the French and Spaniards, attacking us while we are engaged with the Americans, have created national fears. The aſſurances they have given us of the pacific diſpoſition, are by ſome looked upon

on only as common national promiſes; which are no longer held ſacred than they coincide with their intereſt. We admit the too frequent violation of confidence in nations, but when it is ſo diametrically oppoſite to their intereſt to interfere in the diſpute with Great Britain and her Colonies, we need not be under any fear or apprehenſions of their being broke. On the contrary, nothing can be more to their advantage than to prevent their independence; for if ever our American Colonies are ſeparated from Great Britain, all the European ſettlements on the Continent are in danger. Their ſituation in that part of the globe gives them the command of that whole extenſive quarter; and can it be doubted, that in a ſhort ſeries of years, if they ſhould become maſters of our dominions, that they would not make invaſions on the rich Spaniſh Provinces? Their vicinity give them ſuch a pre-eminence, that their Colonies, as Abbe Raynal ſays, may be conquered before ſuccours can arrive. When the laws of Great Britain are

no

no longer in force, the whole Continent of America would tremble under theſe tyrants. Is it then for the advantage of any European power to aſſiſt them? No. If neutral, they muſt be agitated ſpectators of the conteſt; if aſſiſt them, they put a ſword into their hands, whoſe keeneſt edge will be turned againſt themſelves. It may be ſaid, that France might take this opportunity to repoſſeſs herſelf of her dominions in America; and we may ſay, would Canada had never been ceded! But our fears on this head are equally imaginary; thoſe powers cannot but act in concert with each other, and what is pointingly oppoſite to the intereſt of the one, cannot but be ſo to the other. France diſturbed by internal convulſions, and her finances reduced, is in no condition to enter into a war; it would be direct oppoſition to the family compact, and by breaking that, may ſo weaken both branches of that empire, that neither of them would be able to endure one; not only theſe powerful reaſons which ſo cogently urge their neutrality (rather aſſiſtance to ſubdue them) but the

pacific diſpoſition of Lewis the XVIth; whoſe people's happineſs, like the monarch of Great Britain, is the object of his care, and whoſe ideas of glory are equally founded in the exalted principles of truth, baniſhes every idea of fear of ſo unjuſt an invaſion of the laws of nations.

Theſe reflections, which the farther we purſue them, the more we ſhall be convinced how ill grounded thoſe fears are that apprehend France or Spain ſhould either aſſiſt them, or diſtreſs us, in our efforts to ſubdue them.

On the whole, whoever weighs this important conteſt, (and it is the duty of every Engliſhman moſt ſeriouſly ſo to do) will find, as we have obſerved, that whatever colour the Coloniſts may give to their rebellion, as declaring they fight for conſtitutional liberty, that their end is *independance*. The conſequences that would inevitably reſult to this kingdom, we have endeavoured to point out; which are neither

ther exaggerated or enlarged. What traitors then muſt thoſe men be, who cannot be ignorant of the fatal effects to this kingdom, exert their endeavour to promote it. If we examine the inſidious means they make uſe of, to gain the cry of popularity, we ſhall pity their meanneſs and deteſt their treachery; aſſerting the moſt glaring falſhoods, and awakening unjuſt ſuſpicions, in hopes to ſhare the ſpoil of a general confuſion. The people of England who are marked with a degree of diſcernment and ſenſe, ſuperior to moſt nations, cannot ſurely be deluded by the weening arts of a ſet of men, whom the leaſt conſideration on their conduct, muſt make them deſpiſed as betrayers of their country, and on whom the public juſtice of this nation cries aloud for vengeance, for the public injuries it has received from them. To reflecting men, their endeavours to make a diſunion of ſentiment in the people, concerning this great national conteſt, at a time when their intereſt demands the moſt perfect unanimity, muſt appear a ſubtile art of treachery againſt this

this kingdom. The Britiſh nation as yet never wanted ſpirit to aſſert their rights, or courage to defend them; and at this important period, when the rights of her empire are conteſted, her laws trampled on, and her ſovereignity denied, ſhall her people not unite to cruſh the tyranny which has uſurped her government? ſhall thoſe advantages which our anceſtors had in view, by rearing and ſettling of Coloniesbe loſt to Great Britain by our ſupineneſs. Shall thoſe benefits they planned with ſuch wiſdom be forfeited through our want of ſpirit to maintain them? God forbid that Engliſhmen ſhould have fallen ſo low, or that we ſhould be ſo forgetful of the duty we owe to poſterity, as not to hand down to our children thoſe immunities which our forefathers preſented inviolably to us!

FINIS.

ERRATA.

Page 53, line viii, *for* faniet *read* ſancet.